A SECOND SERIES OF Facts *and* Arguments, &c.

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Tending to prove,

That the ABILITIES of the Two B——rs, are not more extraordinary than their VIRTUES.

IN A

LETTER

TO A

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT.

By the AUTHOR of an Examination, of the Principles, *&c.*

——*Prosperum ac fælix Scelus*
Virtus vocatur.—— SENECA.

LONDON:

Printed for A. PRICE, near *Temple-Bar.*

M,DCC,XLIX.

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SIR,

I Muſt own the World has now and then produced a beautiful Monſter; I mean a *Cæſar*, or a *Cromwell*: Men whoſe ſurpaſſing Genius, invincible Spirit, and unparallell'd Succeſs, threw ſuch a Luſtre on their Vices and Enormities, as confounded the Judgment of Mankind, and miſled them to pay that Devotion to Ambition and Rapine, which was only due to Philanthropy and Virtue.

But, in ſpite of the Prevalence of Folly and Servility, which in every Country, and in every Age, has diſgrac'd the Image of *God*, upright as it was form'd, with a Mixture of the Reptile, there have ever been a few, who, ſtanding forth on the Behalf of Human Nature, have not only enter'd their *Proteſts* againſt this dangerous and deſtructive Species of Idolatry; but have been at the Pains to prove, that the more Genius, the more Power, and the more Succeſs fell

to the Share of these splendid Usurpers, the more guilty they became, and the more infamous they ought to be held.

Supposing, however, that, in Compliance with the Depravity we are surrounded with, we, should look on the Man of Scruples, as more an Object of Compassion, than of Admiration, and should beat up for a *Cromwell*, or a *Cæsar*, with all his Faults and Imperfections upon his Head, where should we find such a Master-Spirit, as had Capacity and Resolution enough to give the World a Bias of his own; and to extort a Confession from his very Enemies, That he had acted greatly, if not rightly; and that if any Man had a Commission to enslave his Fellow-Creatures, it was He?

Do you think, that any Thing contained in the Tract I lately sent you, concerning the *Principles* and *Conduct* of the Two B——rs, would direct any sensible *Englishman* to either of them? Or even to Both of them, if it could be proved ever so undeniably, that one Spirit liv'd in Both; that their Passions and Pursuits center'd in one and the same Point, and that their united Qualities and Abilities were under the Direction of one and the same Impulse?

In what Light do they appear *there*, but that of a Brace of Petti-foggers in Partnership, who having been entrusted with a Cause, and procur'd the Writings to be lodg'd in their Hands, by dint of the very Importance they deriv'd from that Trust, the Quirks of Practice, and a total Contempt of Principle and Reputation, lay'd their Client under a Necessity of continuing his Suit in their Hands (tho' Term after Term pro-

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duc'd nothing but Defeat upon Defeat, Diſgrace upon Diſgrace, almoſt to the utter Ruin both of him and his Family) for fear they ſhould declare for the Plaintiff, and put an End to the Proceſs by marring the Cauſe?

And yet this is the Figure they are vain of: This the Conduct which they fancy has dubb'd them ſuch conſummate Politicians. Theſe are the *Cromwells* and *Cæſars* of our Times; and who, for the ſake of being ſo reputed, ſeem willing to have the World conclude, That they have ſubdued every one of theſe Weakneſſes, which goes to the Compoſition of an *honeſt Man*.

But it's my Purpoſe in the Courſe of the enſuing Sheets, to ſhew from a new Series of Facts, which ought to have been interwove with the laſt, if an over-redundance of Matter had not crowded them out of their Place, That the Succeſſes which they fancy redound ſo much to their Honour, aroſe rather from their Wickedneſs than their Wiſdom, from their Connections than their Refinements, from the Depravity of the Times, than the Superiority of their Genius: That they were of ſuch a Nature, as would have diſgrac'd the Conſulſhip of *Caligula*'s Horſe: And that in caſe they were all ſuch Maſter-pieces of Policy, as they deſire to have them thought, they ought to take Shame to themſelves, when they reflect, (as harden'd as they are, they ſometimes muſt do) that the Price of them was the Ruin of their Country.

And that we may take our Departure, according to the Seaman's Phraſe, from a Promontory ſufficiently eminent in the Charts which already lye before us, we muſt ſet out with the

Conferences

Conferences of *Hanau*; of which, however, ſo much the leſs need be ſaid, becauſe ſo many new and extraordinary Lights have already been thrown upon that Affair, in a late maſterly Piece, called, *An Occaſional Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in Town.*

In my former Addreſs to you, I barely touch'd on this Topic, for the ſake of Diſpatch; and every Body muſt remember, That, when it was firſt made public, the Creatures of the Two B——rs were inſtructed to promulgate in all Companies, That the Whole ought to be eſteemed a Bundle of Forgeries, becauſe the Sketch therein given of their Conduct in that Affair, was *One.*

But if that Criterion was now to be turn'd upon them, it would follow, That there is not one Forgery in the Whole, becauſe the Inſtance given, turns out to be a moſt notorious Truth. Their Advocates *without Doors*, have admitted, That the Propoſitions made by the late Emperor at that Place, and transferr'd to the *Brotherhood* by L—— *Granville*, were *rejected*, *by them*: And *within*, They themſelves have obſerved ſuch a Conduct, as amounts to a Confeſſion of all that was laid to their Charge.

If it had been poſſible for them to purge themſelves, why did not they embrace the Opportunity which their Adverſaries gave them, by calling for the *Papers*, *&c.* which had paſs'd between the Two Secretaries on that Occaſion? Why, on the contrary, did they avail themſelves of that miſererable Subterfuge, which the Word *Treaty* happen'd to furniſh them with; by denying that there had been a Treaty, becauſe

cauſe the Draught had never been ſign'd? Why did one of them manifeſt ſuch Terror and Diſmay thorough the whole Courſe of the Debate? Why did he endeavour to acquit himſelf of all Concern in the Tranſaction, by ſuggeſting he was not a Cabinet Counſeller at that Time, in hope it would not be recollected that he was one of the Lords Juſtices? What rational Anſwer can they give to the Two Queſtions put to them by the noble Heir of a certain great Family? Namely, If the Propoſitions made by the Emperor were of a ſalutary Tendency, why were they not accepted? If not, why do the Parties concern'd avoid doing Juſtice to themſelves, by communicating to Parliament? And, what Excuſe can be made for thoſe four Lords Juſtices, who took upon them to reject a Meaſure, that belong'd to the Deciſion of Another?

But, not to leave your Imagination afloat, it appears by a Recital of the whole Negotiation, which was made public by the *Imperial Court*, when all Hope of an Accommodation was at an End. 1ſt. That I—— *Granville* rejected the ſaid Propoſitions in the *Name* of the Lords Juſtices. And 2dly, That, even after the ſaid Rejection had been notify'd, his Imperial Majeſty renew'd his Solicitations; offer'd as before, to renounce all Pretenſions to the *Auſtrian* Succeſſion, to conſent to the aſſembling a neutral Army into the Empire, to augment that Army with fifteen thouſand of his own Troops, to relinquiſh *Philipsburgh* and *Fort Kehl* to the Troops of *Swabia*; and in one Word, to accept any Terms, which the Maritime Powers ſhould think fit to preſcribe; on the ſingle Condition, of obtaining a Reſtitution of his Hereditary Dominions, even with the mortifying Reſtriction, of having all

 the

the fortify'd Towns, in the Poſſeſſion of neutral Troops.

Thus then we have it ſufficiently confirm'd, That if Peace was the only fit Meaſure for *Engliſh* Miniſters to purſue, they thought fit to reject the moſt favourable Opportunity of obtaining it, that *England* in their Time was ever like to be bleſſed with; and thereby *forc'd* their Rival to have Recourſe to ſuch *other Meaſures*, as would contribute moſt to a vigorous Proſecution of the War: In which they did by the Power of the Nation, as others have done by the Caſh and Credit of it, when committed to their Management; apply'd it to their own Uſe, inſtead of applying it to the Uſe of the Public. And if there is any Merit in daring to do what Men of Integrity dare not think of, I have no Objection to the leaving them in Poſſeſſion of it.

The Convention of *Worms* was the firſt of thoſe *other Meaſures*, which L—— *Granville* was now compell'd to negotiate; and which, becauſe of their late Conduct with reſpect to the *Hanau* Propoſitions, the Two B———rs did not think it adviſeable to over-rule: But, when at the Inſtance of the Queen of *Hungary*, he proceeded to ſign a like Convention with her, by which it was ſtipulated, That her Majeſty ſhould be furniſh'd with an annual Subſidy during the Continuance of the War, to be paid in *November* inſtead of *February*, They made bold to lay aſide the Maſk, and not only refus'd to ratify it, but alſo perſiſted in that Refuſal, after his ———'s Return; and upon dividing the Cabinet, made it appear, That they had already found Means to eſtabliſh a better Intereſt in it, than He: For out of fourteen or fifteen Lords preſent, only five appear'd

on

on his ———'s Side: And all the reſt held up the Train of the Two B——rs.

But as well as to relate the Fact, it may be neceſſary to throw in a few Remarks upon it.

The Reflections of the E—— of *Granville* on the Conduct of the Two B———rs, in relation to the *Hanau* Project, it may be ſuppos'd, had convinc'd his L——p of the Neceſſity of guarding as much as poſſible againſt the like Confuſion of Councils and Meaſures for the Time to come; and of *obliging* them, ſince they had made War their *Choice*, to conduct it ſteddily and conſiſtently, in order to a happy Iſſue.

And it may be farther ſuppos'd, That his L——p, on calculating the probable Operations of that War, was mov'd by ſimilar Reaſons to lay down ſuch a Plan, as might make ſure of the Queen of *Hungary* to the End of it. Obligations he knew, might be ſo conferr'd, as to loſe their Nature: And Gratitude was of all Principles the feebleſt in the Cabinets of Princes. Probably he had obſerv'd, That the compelling her firſt to compound her Quarrel with *Pruſſia*, by the Sacrifice of *Sileſia*, and then to purchaſe the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Sardinia*, with a Part of the *Milaneſe*, (by which the *Indiviſibility* of the *Auſtrian* Inheritance, ſo carefully provided for in the *firſt Place*, by the *pragmatic Sanction*, was ſo eſſentially violated) had already induc'd her to think, That the Subſidies ſhe receiv'd from *England*, were but the Price of thoſe Conceſſions: and conſequently, not to be call'd Obligations.

Probably he had his Reaſons to apprehend, That, in caſe we proceeded to compel her to part with a Limb, as often as we opened a Vein, ſhe might be induc'd at laſt, to think it altogether as reaſonable to purchaſe the Mercy, if not the Friendſhip of *France*, by a Peace-Offering on the ſide of *Flanders*, and by leaving us ſingly to wreſtle with that mighty Enemy.

Probably, he had already diſcover'd, That, as nothing but the Preſſures of the Times could have induc'd her to contribute to the aggrandiſing his *Sardinian* Majeſty, ſo nothing could reconcile her to what ſhe had been oblig'd to do, but the putting her Subſidy on the ſame Footing, as to *Certainty*, with his.

And probably, he was ſo much the more eaſily perſuaded to gratify her Majeſty in this Point, becauſe the Expence to *England*, would be the ſame to a Shilling, one Way as the other; becauſe of the apparent Neceſſity of making the Payments in *November*; and becauſe he foreſaw, that a Refuſal would not be productive of ſuch a Cordiality, as ought to have been the Baſis of an Adventure of ſuch Importance.

How far his Lordſhip was *pleas'd* to impart theſe or the like Sentiments in Support of this Meaſure, either in the Cabinet, or elſewhere, I cannot take upon me to explain: But as far as I could learn, all that was ever ſuggeſted, in Oppoſition to it, amounted to no more than this, That the ratifying this Convention, would put it in the Power of the Court of *Vienna*, to conduct the War in what Manner they thought fit, and make it their Intereſt to continue it, as long

as

as we were in a Condition to ſupport the Expence of it. ——

But every Body knows, that Pretences made by one Party, to evade the Force, and defeat the *Purpoſe* of a Contract, will furniſh the other with Counter-pretences, to break through the *Letter* of it. If therefore, her *Hungarian* Majeſty had ſtarted any unreaſonable Difficulties, or made any conſiderable Failures on her Side, Delays or Denials of Payment on ours, would ſoon have oblig'd her to obſerve a more punctual and ſatisfactory Conduct for the Time to come. And, in caſe ſhe had taken her Turn to reject any Offer of Peace, on moderate and equitable Terms, by the ſame Method, we both could and ſhould have compelled her to come in.

Beſides, of all Men living, they were the leaſt likely to be ty'd down by Parchment Punctilios: And all *Europe* has of *late* been fully convinced, that whenever their Convenience required a Peace, a Peace would have been ſign'd on any Terms, how inconſiſtent ſoever with our Engagements to our Allies, or how fatal ſoever to the Honour of their ——, and the Intereſt of their Country.

Nothing, however, could be more irreconcileable with their late Conduct, in rejecting the propoſitions of *Hanau*, or their ratifying the Treaty of *Worms*, than the Language they then us'd. For if they had any Reaſon to fear they might be forc'd to continue the War, till the Burthen grew inſupportable, they ought to have embrac'd the firſt Opportunity of laying it down: And they ought not to have authoriſ'd this Demand of the Queen of *Hungary*'s, by the Conceſſions

ceſſions they had made to the King of *Sardinia*. ——But the Truth of the Matter is, They were unwilling to have any ſuch Syſtem eſtabliſhed, as being once put into Motion, muſt have proceeded regularly and invariably, whether *They* had any Share of the Regulation or not; and for that Reaſon reſolv'd to mar, what was not in their Power to mend.

The immediate Conſequence indeed, was not ſo diſagreeable as might have been apprehended: For the *French* Court had no offers to make her *Hungarian* Majeſty, that could induce her to evacuate *Bavaria*: And, ſoon after, by declaring War againſt her in Form, and by ſpiriting up the *Frankfort* Alliance, they lay her under a Neceſſity of ſtifling her Reſentments, and of ſubmitting to be ſerv'd after what Method the *Brotherhood* thought fit to preſcribe.

But then every remote and incidental Conſequence was ſuch, as our worſt Enemies would have be-ſpoke, if it had been in their Power: And all the Ability that was requir'd to pervert Good into Evil, by the Means of *Two* to *one*, *Walpole*'s Porter was qualify'd to ſupply as well as they.

Having, however, aſſum'd the dictatorial power, and ſo far at leaſt ſucceeded in it, they were not content with a negative Voice; but laid out for an opportunity to ſhew, That they were altogether as adroit in forming Meaſures of their own, as in defeating thoſe of others.

Nor was it long before ſuch an Opportunity occurr'd. At the very opening of the next Year, *France* came to a Reſolution to find us Employment

ment at home, by letting loose the Pretender amongst us; and early in *March*, was pleased to declare War against us in Form.

In this Interval, Mr. *Trevor* had received Instructions to demand those Succours of the States, which they were oblig'd by Treaty to furnish: Their Lordships demurr'd till about the Middle of *April*, and then dispatch'd the Baron *Boetselaer* to assure his ——, That his Masters were resolv'd to adhere to their Engagements: And whenever requir'd, would, send over the 6000 Men, and as many Ships of War as they could spare, for the Defence of this Country: And withal, to make it their Request, That, as there was a Reserve in those Treaties of three Months Time, for the Party on whom the Demand was made, to employ his or their good Offices to bring about an Accommodation, his —— would allow them to do so, and direct his M--rs to furnish him with a Sketch of his Demands in Writing, that they might take their Measures accordingly.

As this was understood to be a Request that could not be decently refus'd, it became one of the next Considerations of the C--b--t to comply with it: But, it prov'd as difficult a Task to reconcile the warring Opinions of the two opposite Parties there, as to restore the Peace of *Europe*. The Debate lasted a whole Month; and then the *Abilities* of the Two B——rs carry'd it, as before, by the *Odds* of *Two* to *One*.

And now, as if in Consequence of this Victory, the *Eldest* had added L—— *G*——'s Province, to his own; For tho' the Business lay properly

properly in the Former, he was pleas'd to remove it, by way of Trophy, to the Latter; and having filled a Sheet or Two of Paper with what he called his Plan, delivered it to Mr. *Boetſelaer*.

Would you know the Contents of it? Look back to the Propoſitions of *Hanau*, which had been rejected almoſt Ten Months before, and you will find all that was material in it, and *more*: For the Article which provided for the Election of a King of the *Romans*, (and which of all the Articles, was the moſt neceſſary and important to us, becauſe it would have ſettled the Tranquility of the *Empire*, for two Lives at leaſt) was omitted. So that, inſtead of riſing in our Demands, as might have been expected, from Thoſe who had acted ſo cavalierly on that Occaſion, like *Falſtaff*, we only manifeſtly a marvellous Alacrity in ſinking. And, the ſame Thing, tho' in other Terms, was obſerv'd, as well in the Prince of *Heſſe*'s Narrative, publiſh'd 1744, as Count *Dohna*'s Declarations to the Court of *Vienna*, and the Anſwer of that Court thereto.

But, while this Affair continued yet in Suſpence, and M. *Boetſelar* continued to ply the *Brotherhood*, with Importunities, to come to a Reſolution of ſome Sort or another, the Duke *d'Aremberg* came over with a Propoſition from the Court of *Vienna*, to the following Effect, *viz.*——

That as no Diſpoſition had been yet made on our Side for the Defence of *Flanders*, and conſequently the *French* would be Superior to the Amount of 30 or 40,000 Men, the only Reſource that was left, was to make ſuch a Diverſion

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on the Side of *Alsace*, as ſhould oblige the *French* to withdraw a great Part of their Army out of *Flanders*, for the Defence of it: That this neceſſary and important Purpoſe, could not, however, be ſerved, without an Advance of one hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds, to prepare Magazines, and other Requiſites for ſo great an Undertaking; That as the Emperor's Health was viſibly on the Decline, it was, moreover, high Time to ſecure a Majority in the Electoral College, by way of Preparatory for a new Election: That, in order thereto, he had three Treaties to recommend, namely, one with *Mayence*, one with *Cologne*, and the third with the King of *Poland*, as Elector of *Saxony*: That theſe Princes had ſeverally acquainted the Court of *Vienna* with their Readineſs to enter into our Alliance, provided proper Subſidies were paid them: And that by gaining theſe three Electors, over and above their Intereſt in the Electoral College, theſe Advantages would immediately accrue to the common Cauſe. 1. The Electors of *Mayence* and *Cologne*, could greatly aſſiſt Prince *Charles* in paſſing the *Rhine*; their Situation being ſuch, That, without breaking the Neutrality of the Empire, they could, in a very eminent Degree, facilitate the Purpoſes of which Party they pleas'd. 2. There was no Meaſure that would operate ſo forcibly on the Councils of the States General, as the ſecuring the Elector of *Cologne*: For in Caſe of a Rupture with *France*, the Safety of the Republic depended upon it: Of which no ſtronger Proof need be given, than the Diſmay, and even Deſpondency which appear'd throughout the whole Seven Provinces, when M. *de Maillebois* march'd into that Electorate. 3. The Queen of *Hungary*, could not ſuffer Prince *Charles* to paſs the *Rhine*,

unleſs ſhe was freed from all Apprehenſions from the Side of *Pruſſia*, which ſhe could no otherwiſe be, than by the Interpoſition of *Saxony*: That Court having of Regulars and Irregulars, between 40 and 50,000 Men, which join'd to a Body of 18,000 Regulars, and the *Hungarian* Irregulars, which were beſides under the Command of Marſhal *Bathiani*, would either be ſufficient to deter his *Pruſſian* Majeſty from making any other Attempts againſt the Queen of *Hungary*; or to find him ſufficient Employment in caſe he did.

This was the Subſtance of the Duke *d'Aremberg*'s Commiſſion. And as to the Reception it met with, it was ſuch as became the divided Condition of the Cabinet, as above repreſented. Thoſe that were capable of forming the trueſt Judgment of Things, and coming to the wiſeſt Reſolutions, had the leaſt Power; and thoſe who had moſt, were for making all the Concerns of *Europe*, give Place to their own.

As this Propoſal, therefore, had the ſame Tendency as the Convention for aſcertaining her *Hungarian* Majeſty's Subſidy; and paying it at ſuch a Time, as ſhould render it doubly efficacious, it was obnoxious to the ſame Fate. But Men who have Indirect Purpoſes to ſerve, dare not be direct in declaring them. When, therefore, the Duke *d'Aremberg* or M. *Boetſelaer* renew'd their Memorials, or preſs'd for Anſwers, the eldeſt of the Two B———rs conſulted his Cook, and undertook to keep them in Temper with the Prodigality and Splendor of his Entertainments: When, alſo, it appeared, That they were cloy'd with a Repetition of the ſame Dainties, and that when the Interlude was over, they return'd to Buſineſs with the ſame ſerious Face as before,

before, tho' his G—— could not deny the expediency of the Measures propos'd, he disputed their Practicability; at least as to what regarded *England*; which, according to the Lessons he had received from h-s B——r, he urg'd, was not in a Condition to furnish the Sums requir'd.

But even this Pretence serv'd only to increase his Embarassment: For the Duke *d'Aremberg*, with great Propriety, proceeded to expostulate with him upon it, if not in the very Terms, in Substance, as follows.

—— Why then did you invite a War? Why did you reject the Offers of the Emperor at *Hanau*, which put it into your Power to restore *Peace* to *Europe*? Did not you know the Condition of your Country then? If you did not, Why did you not make yourselves acquainted with it before you put a Negative on a Proposal of such infinite Importance? If you did, and it appear'd to be really such, as you would have it understood to be, the former Question recurs, Why did you invite a War, which you knew, you could not support? But whatsoever your Condition is, the War is declar'd, and the Question to be consider'd is not what *should* have been done *then*? But, what *must* be done *now*? There is no resisting the Power of *France*, without forming Alliances. There is no reducing it without the Alliances in Question. These Alliances are not to be had without a valuable Consideration; and as the Exigence is pressing, the Provision must be suitable.—— As to what concerns her *Hungarian* Majesty; had the Convention in her Favour been ratify'd, and the Parliament come to suitable Resolution upon it, she might have drawn the Sum demanded for the Passage of the *Rhine*, from

the Banks of *Amſterdam*, *Hamborough* or *Genoa*, on the Credit of it; and have been in a Condition at this Time to execute, what ſhe is ſtill to negotiate: But as matters now ſtand, it is impoſſible for her to make an extraordinary Effort, without extraordinary Aſſiſtance: And unleſs ſuch an Effort is made, no Check can be given to the Progreſs of the Enemy in *Flanders*.

Thus far his Excellency: And perhaps you are in ſome Pain for his G———, when it came to his Turn to reply.———But that which would have been a Difficulty to you or me, was little or none to him. When the Senſe of an Argument is all of one Side, the beſt Reſource is to have all Nonſenſe on the other: And of this the D——— had the happieſt Vein of any Cabinet C———r in *Europe*. After a thouſand Expreſſions of Zeal for the *Common Cauſe*, Reſpect for her *Hungarian* Majeſty, and Eſteem for his Excellency, he admitted, he cavilled, he promis'd, he doubted, he ſaid, he unſaid, till he ſaw his Excellency was as much bewilder'd, as he deſir'd he ſhould be, and then, as uſual, he left him to grow giddy, in endeavouring to unwind the Maze, in which he was entangled.

In ſhort, the Time allotted for his Stay at this Court, having been waſted in a like Courſe of Ambiguities and Perplexities, he was at laſt diſmiſs'd with a Requeſt, That he would repair to his Command in the Allied Army in *Flanders*; and with a Promiſe, That the three Treaties he had propos'd, ſhould be adopted; and that the 150,000 *l.* required by the Queen his Miſtreſs, ſhould be paid, when her Army had actually paſs'd the *Rhine*.

But,

But, after all, what contributed moſt to the Performance of as much as was perform'd of this Promiſe, was the firmneſs of the *States General*, who refus'd to ſend their Quota of 16,000 Men to the Allied Army, till the Treaty of *Cologne* was ſign'd, and towards which they conſented to pay as much as we, in order to quicken a Meaſure, which ſo eſſentially concern'd their own Preſervation.

Their Lordſhips alſo conſented to pay their Quota to the *Saxon* Subſidy: Which was another Circumſtance of Moment: For the B——rs having been driven from their Aſſertion, That *England* was not able to furniſh the Sums requir'd, had no other Subterfuge to excuſe the Delay of their Acquieſcence, but the Reaſonableneſs of waiting for the Determination of *Holland*: And They no ſooner condeſcended to ſignify that Acquieſcence, than the Draught was finally adjuſted with Count *Fleming* the *Saxon* Miniſter: And the *Mayence* Treaty, having kept Pace with that of *Cologne*, nothing ſeem'd to be wanting but the Royal *Fiat* to complete the Duke *d'Aremberg*'s Project; with an Exception to the Time already loſt, in Alteration and Amuſement, that is to ſay, which there was no Secret in Policy to recover.

But tho' the Port is in view, and ſcarce a Cloud is to be ſeen in the Sky, while there is ſuch a mutinous Spirit at the Helm, we are not to reckon we are at the End of our Voyage.—The Negotiation with Count *Fleming* had been conducted by L— G——, and conſequently it belong'd to him to lay it before the ******: But Form requires the two S——s to attend his —— together, unleſs they are upon ſuch ill Terms with each other, as to render it impracticable; and

and the Elder B——r, according to his Custom, making it late before he came, his L——p took upon him to make his Report, without waiting for his Colleague, and his —— ventur'd to receive it; which was esteem'd such an Offence to the Dignity, Almightiness and Importance of the *Brotherhood*, That they would no longer concur in a Measure, which in any one Step had been conducted without their Participation: And thus, by the over-forwardness of one M——r, and the undutiful Resentment of another; the said Measure, at least, for the Crisis when it was of most Consequence, was lost.

To illustrate this, we need only make a short Transition to the Events of the Year: And first as to the Project of Peace, communicated by the B——rs, thro' the Hands of M. *Boetselaer* to the *States*, and by them transmitted by M. *Fowichel* to the *most Christian King*, it did not reach his said Majesty, till he had open'd the Campaign on the Side of *Flanders*, at the Head of such an Army, and such a Train, as appear'd to be irresistable: It is no Wonder, therefore, that it did not take Effect; and that he preferr'd the more vigorous Method of attempting to bring the Allies to Reason, by forcing their Frontier; which he did with such Success, that by the Beginning of *July* he had reduc'd *Courtray*, *Harlebeck*, *Warneton*, *Menin*, *Ypres*, Fort *Knocke* and *Furnes*, and made a sort of triumphant Entry into *Dunkirk*.

On the other Hand, by refusing to *advance* the 150,000 *l.* required by the Duke *d'Aremberg*, to enable Prince *Charles* to pass the *Rhine*, instead of passing it by the Middle of *May*, which it was propos'd to do, and which must have prevented the

the rapid Progress of the *French*, just spoken of, it was the End of *June* before he was in a Condition to accomplish it.

Again, (as we have seen in the *Examination*) When the Utility of that Measure had been demonstrated, by the Necessity it laid the *French* under, of making such a Detachment from their Army in *Flanders*, as not only reduc'd them to the *Defensive* wholly, but expos'd them to the Efforts of the Allies, who had now the Superiority in their Turn, instead of making the notable Use of this Opportunity, that was still in our Power, we sacrific'd it to the paltry Consideration of so trifling a Sum as 28 or 30,000 *l.*

Lastly, For want of perfecting our Treaty with *Saxony*, the *Frankfort* Alliance had Time and Space to operate to its full Extent: The King of *Sweden*, who, as Landtgrave of *Hesse Cassel* was a Party in it, recall'd his Troops out of our Service, and join'd the Emperor: The Elector-*Palatine* did the same: And the King of *Prussia*, at the Head of a powerful Army, fell into *Bohemia*.

So that, instead of defeating the Purpose of the *Francfort* Alliance, and holding *Prussia* in Check, as would have been the Case, if the *Saxon*-Treaty had been sign'd, instead of enabling Prince *Charles* to maintain his Ground in *Alsace*, and seizing the Occasion to open a Way into the Heart of *France*, as by the reducing *Maubeuge* and *Landrecy*, might have been done, we suffer'd M. *Saxe* to remain unmolested in *Flanders*; Prince *Charles* was oblig'd to repass the *Rhine* in Sight of an Army, which by Reinforcements sent to it from all Parts, was become Superior

to

to his own; as alſo at the Hazard of being enclos'd between the *French* on one Side, and the *Imperialiſts* on the other; and after a long and violent March into *Bohemia*, had it for his Winter's Work, to wreſt that Kingdom out of the Hands of the *Pruſſians*. Nor would it have been in his Power to do ſo, if her *Hungarian* Majeſty had not purchas'd the Aſſiſtance of 24,000 *Saxons*, at the Expence of one third of the 150,000 *l.* which ſhe received from hence, for the Paſſage of the *Rhine*.

Circumſtances, which at once ſerve to manifeſt the Importance of ſigning the *Saxon* Treaty ſo unwarrantably fruſtrated by the B——rs; and that her *Hungarian* Majeſty, was not backward to divide the Subſidies ſhe received with her Allies, when the Service requir'd it; tho' ſhe has been unjuſtly accus'd of laviſhing the Treaſures devoted to public Uſes in private Prodigalities.

But tho', by the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Auxiliaries, Prince *Charles* did, indeed, force the *Pruſſians* to abandon *Bohemia*, the Emperor, on the other Hand, having been re-inforced by a ſtrong Detachment from the *French* Army, expell'd the *Auſtrians* out of *Bavaria*: And the moſt *Chriſtian* King, in the ſame Interval, finiſh'd the Campaign, by the taking of *Friburgh*.

Thus the Aſpect of Affairs was wholly chang'd: The Emperor, who, the Year before, was reduc'd to ſuch Extremities, that he had not Credit at *Francfort* for the Neceſſaries of his Houſehold, had now recover'd thoſe Dominions by Force of Arms, which had been refus'd to him at *Hanau*, as the Price of Peace: The *French*, who,

who, in Conſequence of the Duke *d'Aremberg*'s Propoſals, might have been compell'd to accept of ſuch a Peace as the Allies ſhould have thought fit to preſcribe in their Turn: And the War, which, as if out of Wantonneſs, the B——rs had refus'd to end, when, it was in their Power, and which, under a Pretence of huſbanding the public Money, they had huſbanded as thriftily as poſſible ever ſince, took in a larger Field, and threaten'd to produce more fatal Effects that it had done before.

You may now perhaps expect, that I ſhould beſtow a Minute or two on the *Not-Abilities* of this wonderful Brace of M——rs: But tho' I am come to the End of the Year, I have ſtill a Part of their Web to unravel; and, therefore, muſt not, as yet, ſum up the Merits of their Performances.

As ſoon as Advice was receiv'd of the Motions of his *Pruſſian* Majeſty towards *Bohemia*, it was impoſſible not to look back with Regret to the *Saxon* Negotiation, nor to avoid reflecting on the Manner of its Miſcarriage! But, notwithſtanding the Provocation, Arguments were us'd inſtead of Reproaches: Baron *Waſner* demonſtrated the Neceſſity of reſuming it; Baron *Boetſelaer*, zealouſly concurr'd with him in all his Inſtances. And the States conſented to pay one Third of the Subſidy! All, however, was ineffectual! The B——rs affected to adhere to their former Maxim; and notwithſtanding the calamitous Effects of it, which could neither be controverted nor excus'd, would allow no Neceſſity to be ſo great, as that of ſaving, or ſeeming to ſave the public Money: inſtead, therefore, of cloſing with the Offer of the States, to change themſelves with one Part in Three, they inſiſted on Two Parts in Five; and, tho' L—— *Gran-*

ville foretold, that their High Mightineſſes would never be induc'd to agree on that Footing, for fear of the Precedent; and remonſtrated, not only, that Time, thorough the whole Courſe of their Diſpute, had been of infinately greater Value than Money, but alſo, That every new Delay had a Tendency to throw the *Saxon* Intereſt into the Scale of *France* and *Pruſſia*, and thereby to deſtroy the very Poſſibility of recovering the Balance, They continued obſtinate: and thus this important Meaſure was defeated a ſecond Time.

But, whatever was the Gloſs they ſet upon their Conduct, the true Secret of it has been diſcover'd in the *Occaſional Letter* above quoted: They had moſt iniquitouſly brought their *Broad-Bottom Allies* to believe, that his L——p was the Perſon who had *rejected* the Propoſitions of *Hanau*, and had fed them with the Hope of an *Impeachment*; and the Latter were become ſo eager for the Sport, that nothing leſs than a Share in the Adminiſtration would reconcile them to a Diſappointment: It was therefore become abſolutely neceſſary to diſappoint and mortify the —— to diſtreſs his Allies, and to obſtruct every Branch of Service as much as poſſible, that his ——— might be forc'd to remove a Man from his Councils and Preſence, whoſe Abilities he was not permitted to make uſe of; and that he might be ſerv'd by them only, in what Manner they pleas'd.

And no ſooner was this great Point carry'd, than, as if *G——lle*'s Mantle had dropp'd upon them, they profeſs'd to adopt the Meaſures they had hitherto decry'd; and by Way of Earneſt of their good Intentions, immediately ſent Inſtructions to Mr. *Villars*, the *Britiſh* Miniſter at the Court of *Saxony*, to uſe his utmoſt Efforts to

remove

remove the ill Impreſſions which their deſultory Behaviour had made on his *Poliſh* Majeſty, and to put the laſt Hand to the Treaty of *Warſaw*, which on the 8th of *January* following, he had, the Addreſs and Happineſs to accompliſh.

That the E—— of *C——d*, alſo, whom they had prevail'd upon to anſwer for them to the *States General*, might meet with the more favourable Reception, they authoris'd him to ſign the Convention with their High and Mighty Lordſhips on L—— *G——le*'s Plan, of their paying *one* Part in *three*, inſtead of inſiſting as before, on *two* Parts in *five*: And, what is ſtill more extraordinary, as if they had bound themſelves to give them a valuable Conſideration, even for ſtanding to their own former Agreement, they farther directed his L——p, in all his ſubſequent Engagements with the Republic, to ſettle the Quota's and Propoſitions of Troops, Fleets, and Subſidies, on ſo low a Footing as ONE in FOUR.

So that after they had rejected the Offer of a Peace on advantageous Terms, and made the Continuance of the War with their own Act and Deed, they directed the whole Scope of their Endeavours to render that War unproſperous: And after they had expos'd our Allies to Ruin, under the Pretence of being unable to pay the Expence of their Preſervation, they ruſhed into far greater Expences, on far more unequal Terms, and with leſs Probability of Succeſs, than ever had been incurr'd, or demanded before.

Is there, then, the leaſt Glimmering, either of Ability or Integrity, to be diſcovered thorough the whole Courſe of this Proceeding? The ſlighteſt Trace of what denotes a faithful Servant, an experienc'd Stateſman, or even a Well-wiſher to the Intereſt and Honour of his Country! As to

the Advantage they obtain'd over their Rival, which ſome People may be abandon'd enough to urge, as a Proof that they had the Superiority in Point of Underſtanding, it aroſe from *Strength*, not the *Underſtanding* of the *Brotherhood*, and from ſuch a diſhoneſt Uſe of that Strength, as no wiſe Man would have practis'd, and no great Man would have countenanc'd.

If, indeed, an Ad———n cannot be rightly conſtituted, without a due Mixture of Cunning and Perplexity, Arrogance and Meanneſs, Levity and Obſtinacy, Rancour and Plauſibility, it muſt then be allow'd the Two B——rs had all the Qualifications neceſſary for the Diſpatch of foreign and domeſtic Affairs: But, if theſe, on the contrary, are the Indications of weak Heads, and hollow Hearts, all their Acquiſitions of Power, muſt be plac'd to the Account of the *Legion* they had under their Command; and it will be Matter of Lamentation for many an Age to come, that ever the Power of this Kingdom fell into ſuch Hands.

Late, however, as the *Saxon* Treaty was brought to a Concluſion, and weaken'd in its Operations as it had been, by ſuch a Series of inexcuſable Delays, it had ſtill ſome Vigour and Virtue remaining: For it gave us the Majority in the Electoral College, at a Criſis when it was of the utmoſt Importance; for the Wax was ſcarce cold before the Emperor dy'd; and it enabled her *Hungarian* Majeſty to ſend an Army into *Bavaria*, early in the Spring, which routed the *French* and *Palatine* Forces, before they could join the *Bavarians* and *Heſſians*; and afterwards cut off, and ſurrounded the *Heſſians*, in the Neighbourhood of *Ingolſtadt*, where they were oblig'd to lay down their Arms and ſurrender at Diſcretion: In Conſequence of which Succeſſes, the young

young Elector found himself oblig'd to sign the Treaty of *Fuessen*; in which, among a Variety of other Concessions, he not only renounc'd all Claim to the *Austrian* Succession, but engag'd his Vote to the Great Duke at the next Election, in order to the raising him to the *Imperial* Throne: And the Court of *Cassel* seeing no Prospect of recovering their Captive troops out of the Hands of the *Austrians*, except by deserting to the *French* Interest, once more embrac'd that of the Allies, and were rewarded with the same Subsidy from *England*, as they had enjoy'd, before the Rejection of the Propositions of *Hanau* furnish'd them with a Pretence to go over to the Enemy.

It has been already observ'd, in the *Examination*, That the *Bavarians* might have been added to the Allies at this very Crisis, as well as the *Hessians*; Nor is there an Item in the Treaty just quoted, which does not serve to shew the Situation of the young Elector, to be such, as render'd that measure one of the most desirable Things that could could have befallen him: And if I was farther to to suggest, That under proper Management, even the Elector *Palatine*, might also have been induced to follow that example, I could justify that Suggestion by every kind of probability, if not by positive Facts: For the Obligation of the *Frankfort*-Alliance was at an end: Two of the Parties had been forc'd to relinquish it: Prince *Charles*, in his march to the Rescue of *Bohemia* out of the hands of his *Prussian* Majesty, had put the *Upper Palatinate* under severe Contributions: In the beginning of the year the *Austians* reduc'd that whole Province: In the Action which was so fatal to the *Bavarian* Court, the *Palatine* Troops had suffer'd greatly, and the Duchies of *Bergue* and *Juliers* were expos'd to the Incursions of the Duke *a' Aremberg*. So that a bare State of the Distresses

of

of this Prince, may be ſaid to carry Conviction along with it.

But under the Head of ſuch Omiſſions, as ſerve to demonſtrate, either, that the B—rs had the leaſt of the Stateſman in their Compoſition, of any that ever yet aſpir'd to the name, or that their purpoſes had a more pernicious Tendency than thoſe of our moſt open and determined Enemies, I ought not to forget that other project, which had been recommended by L— *G*———, in order to lay a proper reſtraint on the enterprizing genius of *Pruſſia*, and even to ſtrike a Terror into *France* itſelf: I mean the project of engaging the *Czarina* to become a party in the common Cauſe.

That they had not entirely loſt Sight of it, appears by that Article of the *Warſaw*-Treaty, in which it is provided, That both *Ruſſia* and *Poland* ſhould be invited to accede to it: But that this great and important Point was never labour'd in earneſt, till it was found indiſpenſably neceſſary for the procuring a Peace upon *any Terms*, will admit, I think, of every Kind of Proof, that can be requir'd to ſatisfy the moſt diffident Mind.

As the fatal Experience of the former Year, had made Way for the ſaid Treaty, ſo a very little Sagacity would have ſerv'd to diſcover, that the ſame Meaſure which might before have prevented the Flame, would not be ſufficient to extinguiſh it. The Blow which had demoliſhed the *Frankfort* Alliance, tho' meditated, could not be depended upon: The *Imperial* Crown was in Suſpenſe, and liable to be diſpos'd of by the ſtrongeſt Arm: Tho' the King of *Pruſſia* had been repuls'd, he was far from being ſubdued: And tho' it is poſſible, the Rebellion in *Scotland* was not *foreknown*, it might have been *foreſeen*, by any ſenſible Man who recollected the intended

Invaſion

Invaſion in the Beginning of the preceding Year, and who compar'd the viſible Intereſt of the Court of *France*, with the expos'd Condition of the united Kingdom, after the ſeveral Draughts had been made for the Service in *Flanders*: And all theſe Conſiderations might have convinc'd every Man, but Thoſe who ought to have underſtood them beſt, That this was the Time for collecting all the Strength, which they could have collected together, for the making ſuch an Effort that Year, as ſhould have aton'd for all paſs'd Miſcarriages; and prevented, as far as human Prudence could prevent, all future Misfortunes.

Indeed, according to a Sort of Cabinet-Dream, which had taken Poſſeſſion of ſome People's Heads about this Time, no leſs than Three Armies were to have fallen into the King of *Pruſſia*'s Dominions at once: But if this Dream had been ever ſo preciſely verify'd, the Poſture of Affairs in *Flanders* would have deriv'd no Benefit from it: Whereas, by engaging the *Bavarians*, and adding to them ſuch a Body of *Ruſſians*, as have been ſince retain'd, by Way of Co-adjutors to the Plenipotentiaries at *Aix*, ſuch a Re-enforcement might have been ſpared for the Service in *Flanders*, as would have enabled the Allies to face the *French* on equal Terms; and left the B———rs without Excuſe or Pretence, for having left this Country, which was at ſo vaſt an Expence for the Maintenance of Fleets and Armies, deſtitute of a ſufficient Number of Forces, to provide for its own Defence.

But, inſtead of preſſing the Court of *Peterſburgh* on ſuch a Principle, as might have facilitated ſo important a Meaſure, we contented ourſelves, firſt, with a bare Sollicitation of the Succours ſtipulated by the Defenſive Treaty of 1743,

and

and then of her *Imperial* Majesty's Accession to the Treaty of *Warsaw*; and continu'd to solicite on, under a Variety of Evasions and Amusements, from the Beginning of the Year 1744, by Lord *Tyrawley* in the Capacity of Envoy, and the Earl of *Hyndford*, in that of Embassador-extraordinary, till *April* 1745, when the *Russian* Ministers thought themselves authoris'd to decline the Performance of what was required of their Mistress, by suggesting, that the King of *Prussia* having intreated her *Imperial* Majesty to act as a Mediatrix between the Powers at War, she thought it more reasonable to make an offer of her good Offices to compose the Quarrel, than to become a Party in it.

And as to the events which waited on this Complication of Blunders; they were such as serv'd to shew, That Imprudence is but the Harbinger to Misfortune. In the Course of this calamitous Year, the *Prussians* were four Times victorious over the *Austrians* and *Saxons*. The Battle of *Fontenoy* was lost; and no less than seven of the principal Towns of *Flanders* were reduc'd: In *Italy*, Count *Gages* having cross'd the *Appeninne*, and join'd *Don Philip* in the Territories of the *Genoese*, that Republic, in Resentment of the Treaty of *Worms*, declar'd their Alliance with *France* and *Spain*, and re-inforc'd the *Spanish* Army with 10000 of their Troops: What follow'd on that Side, during the Residue of the Year, was an uninterrupted Series of Success: *Acqui*, *Tortona*, *Parma* and *Placentia* were severally reduc'd: After which the Victors forc'd a Passage at the *Tanaro*; and became Masters both of the *Milanese*, and of *Piedmont*, on both Sides the *Po*, as far as *Turin*: Lastly, upon this Island of ours, which was suppos'd to be out of the Reach of Danger, from a Cloud, that seem'd to be at first

no

no bigger than a Man's Hand, ſuch a Storm deſcended, as had like to have been fatal to it: That I allude to the Rebellion, and the Action at *Preſton-Pans*, if it can be call'd one, you cannot be at a Loſs to gueſs; and where the *Wiſdom* and *Policy* lay, of ſending almoſt our laſt Reſerve of Troops, to be made Priſoners of War at *Oſtend*, when it was known the young Pretender was at Sea; or of treating the Accounts that were daily receiv'd from *Scotland* of his Progreſs, with Neglect and Contempt, till *England* itſelf was expos'd to all the Calamities inſeparable from it, I defy the moſt able and determin'd Advocate in the Pay of the *Brotherhood*, either within Doors, or without Doors, to diſcover.

But while the War was thus feebly and ineffectually proſecuted, our great Maſters in Politics, did not forget, That, unleſs they, at the ſame Time, continu'd to keep the Channel of Negotiation open, the *Amuſement* would not be complete.

Thus they *affected* to treat, as They *affected* to fight; and according to their Endeavours was their Succeſs. In reading their *Dispatches* one would have ſworn, they had rely'd wholly on the *Sword*: In reading their *Gazettes*, one would have ſworn, they had rely'd wholly on *Treaty-Work*. In ſhort, They appear'd to be the ſame in Politics, that the *Fribbles* are in Love: And it is no Wonder, therefore, that both in the Cabinet and the Field, the *French* were Maſters.

There was, indeed, one M——r amongſt them, who, deſpairing of the War under ſo wild a Management, loſt no Opportunity of enforcing ſuch Meaſures, as had a Tendency to facilitate a Peace: Or, at leaſt, to put the Conteſt on a more equal Footing.

Of theſe Meaſures, to divide *Pruſſia* from

France, was that which ſtood foremoſt, and conſequently, what excited his Attention moſt: But, notwithſtanding all his Endeavours, he had not the Satisfaction to ſee it accompliſh'd till towards the Cloſe of the Year.

His *Pruſſian* Majeſty had his Eyes always fix'd on the Motions of the *Ruſſians*: The *Czarina* had found out a Pretence to excuſe herſelf from acting on his Behalf, as a Guarantee of *Sileſia*; upon which he had withdrawn, and ſhe had expreſly relinquiſhed, the Offer he had made, of accepting her Mediation: The Miniſters of the Allies, and particularly thoſe of *Saxony*, grew importunate in their Demands of Aſſiſtance: And he was not without a Fore-knowledge, That when thoſe Demands were back'd with a proper Conſideration, they would be ſucceſsful.

As a Sort of trimming Meaſure, therefore, which might put it in his power to ſecure an Accommodation, in caſe of need, he gave his Conſent to a Convention with *Great Britain*, which was ſign'd at *Hanover* in *Auguſt*, by which it was provided, that his *Pruſſian* Majeſty ſhould hold *Sileſia* under the Guarantee of *England*: That the King of *Poland* ſhould renounce all pretenſions to it; That his *Pruſſian* Majeſty ſhould give his Vote at the enſuing Election, to the Grand Duke, *&c.*

But tho' on the Side of *Great Britain*, the Purpoſe of the ſaid Convention, was that already ſpecify'd; and the King of *Pruſſia* over and over again, declar'd his unalterable Reſolution, to be contented with nothing leſs than what was ſtipulated for him in it, the Operation of it upon the Allies was ſcarce viſible, till the King of *Pruſſia* transferr'd the Seat of War to *Saxony*, and by a Courſe of Succeſſes, made Way for the Treaty of *Dreſden*;

Dreſden; in which the *Elector Palatine* being alſo comprehended, the Tranquility of the Empire was reſtor'd: And her *Hungarian* Majeſty was once more left at Liberty, to employ her Troops in *Flanders* and *Italy*, againſt the Encroachments of the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

It was not, however, till the cloſe of the Year, that this Treaty was perfected: And, ſuch had been the Loſſes, which in the Courſe of ſo many Battles, ſhe had ſuſtain'd, that tho' ſhe had rid her Hands of one Enemy, at the Expence of an expreſs Renunciation of *Sileſia* and *Glatz*, ſhe was no longer in a Condition to make Head againſt the Reſt, with that Celerity which the Exigence of her Affairs requir'd; or that Strength which was neceſſary to withſtand the Efforts that were made againſt her.

Had, indeed, the Remittances been iſſued from hence at the proper Time, according to the Project communicated by her Miniſter at *Vienna*, ſhe might have completed her Corps, remounted her Cavalry, and fill'd her Magazines, Time enough to have retarded the Progreſs of the Enemy, at leaſt in reducing the Barrier Towns of *Flanders*, if not prevented it.

But the *Brotherhood* were now furniſh'd with what they thought a ſufficient Excuſe to juſtify all Omiſſions, and palliate all Refuſals: The Rebellion (which had been ſo long neglected, and deſpis'd, and which had never ſhock'd the Peace, no ſunk the Reputation of this Kingdom at all, if the Propoſals of *Hanau* had been accepted, if the Convention had been made with the Queen of *Hungary*, or the *Saxon* Treaty had been concluded, when it was firſt recommended by the Duke *d'Aremberg*) was grown to ſuch a Head, that the Queſtion of the Day was alter'd, and in-

ſtead of aſking, as it had been the Cuſtom to do, whether the B——rs had any *Purpoſe* to extinguiſh it, it came to be aſk'd, Whether it was in their *Power?*

And, indeed, ſo ambiguous, ſo irreſolute, ſo contradictory, was their Behaviour, that it was hard to decide, whether their Blunders aroſe from a Defect of Principle, or a Defect of Underſtanding. To enumerate all the Proofs which might be collected of Neglects ſo groſs, that they ſeem'd to be wilful; and of Abſurdities ſo glaring, that they ſeem'd calculated to be fatal, would be a Taſk as impoſſible, as unneceſſary. ——There, is ſcarce an Officer in the Army, from the D—— down to a common Serjeant, that has not in his Power to recollect, ſuch Orders and Counter-Orders, ſuch Marches and Counter marches, as are abundantly ſufficient to make good the Premiſes. ——And there is ſcarce a Gentleman of any Faſhion, who had his Reſidence in Town, during that ſhameful interval, but muſt remember, that the Pannic, which expos'd us to the Contempt of our Neighbours, for our Puſilanimity, and which propagated ſuch a Mixture of Diſmay, Confuſion and Diſpair, from one Extremity of the Land to the other, was firſt propagated from the M——l Quarter.

But even at this Period of Weakneſs and Wretchedneſs, (the laſt I hope which is to diſgrace our Annals) the *French*, probably apprehending, that if they declin'd a Treaty now, they might have one to negotiate with Men of more Ability, teſtify'd an Inclination, to make an Experiment of that kind.

Tho' Baron *Boetſelaer*, had in the Year 1744, found it ſo difficult to obtain any Project of Peace from the *Brotherhood*; And M. *Twickel* had

not

not ſucceeded in his Negotiations with the *French* Court upon it, the States General were importunate for a ſecond Trial; and having drawn ſome farther Explanations from our M——rs, diſpatch'd both M. *Twickel* and M. *Gilles* to make a ſuitable Impreſſion there.

This gave riſe to the Conferences of *Breda* in the Year 1746. M. the Marquis de *Puyſieux* was appointed on the Behalf of *France*: And the Earl of *S*—— on the Behalf of *England*. But whatſoever the Inclinations or Pretenſions of the *French* Miniſters were, there was at that Time, little ſincerity in ours. The Rebellion at laſt had been happily ſuppreſs'd: And what with the Fears of ſome, and the Raptures of others, the Nation was obnoxious to any Practice of any kind whatſoever.

Having, therefore, proceeded as far as *Breda*, as would ſerve to eſtabliſh an Opinion, or rather to countenance a Pretence, that they would have accepted Peace, if Peace had been acceptable to the Enemy, they wantonly reſolv'd to proceed with the War; tho' without making the neceſſary Proviſions in Time either of Men or Money; in Conſequence of which fatal Neglects, the *French* had Leiſure to make as great Advances, as they had done the Year before, towards the reduction of the Barrier: And Prince *Charles* (whoſe military Glory, there was no Diſpoſition, perhaps, on our Side of the Water, to advance, how much ſoever it might have conduc'd to the common Cauſe) was expos'd at *Rocoux*, to the Onſet of a ſuperior Enemy, that by the Dint of Numbers alone was, in a Manner, ſure to conquer.

In plain *Engliſh*, one cannot help ſuppoſing, that it was partly in Compliment to his R—— H—— the D——, that the Reſolution was taken

taken to prolong the War; and that, as he had not the Honour of commanding the Allies this Year, we connivʼd at the Losses of it, and kept our Strength in Reserve, to render him so much the more illustrious, by the Efforts of the next.

But how well forver a Conduct of this kind might become a *Courtier*, it is utterly incompatible with the Character of a Statesman. As it is the first Rule of Policy, to leave as little as possible in the Power of Fortune: So it is the second never to make a voluntary Sacrifice to Misfortune: Ill Success (and that not very unreasonably) passes for Inability: And he that refines away his own Character, may be run down before he has an Opportunity to recover it.

This, for the present, may suffice, on the Head of *Ability*: But if any farther Comment should be thought necessary, the *Canada* Project, and the Port *l'Orient* Expedition, which were also the Measures of this Year, will furnish all that is wanting to complete your Satisfaction on that Head.

Where, for Example, was the Wisdom of concerting a Measure in *April*, which ought to have been put in Execution in *March*? Or of directing the *Northern Colonies* to raise no less than Ten Thousand Men to co-operate with the *Regulars* to be sent from hence on that Service, without making any Provision for their Pay, their Employment, or their Discharge? Where was the Wisdom, or the Oeconomy, of putting the Nation to the Expence of the extraordinary Preparations necessary for such an Undertaking, and of exposing it to the Derision of the whole World, by Embarkations, Debarkations, and whatever besides, could manifest, that our Councils were in a continual Fluctuation, aud that,

instead

inſtead of the Refinements of Policy, we had not the Uſe of *Common Senſe*?

Beſides; when the B——rs, had ſo far acted as the *Liegemen* of *France*, in preſerving their Settlements in *America* from this Storm, and by Way of *Tub* to their Fellow-Subjects, had directed it to the Coaſt of *Britany*, who did they aſſociate with General *S*—— in the Command, but *Leſtock*; whoſe infamous Behaviour in the *Mediterranean*, had laid him under ſuch Suſpicions, as ought to have amounted to a Diſqualification? And would not the Event almoſt authorize a Concluſion, that they were as little diſpos'd to annoy *France* at Home as Abroad? For it is no Secret in that Kingdom, that Port *l'Orient* was not in a Condition to make any Defence; and that the Magiſtrates were actually on the point of ſurrendering the Place, when, to their equal Surprize and Joy, they beheld our Troops re-embark, and our Ships ſet ſail.

Laſtly; Towards the Cloſe of a Year, in which the B——rs had alternately diſcover'd an Inclination both to Peace and War, without proſecuting either, They remov'd the ſame M——r, who had carry'd the Olive Branch in his Mouth to *Breda*, to cultivate a Military Diſpoſition, if poſſible, at the *Hague*; and by carrying on an *irregular Correſpondence*, with the *Elder*, to make Way for the Removal of the only M—— in the ——, who had upon Principle, contended for the Neceſſity of coming to a ſpeedy Accommodation.

And now we are once more come to the Year 47, when a martial Spirit had avowedly taken Poſſeſſion of the C——b——t, when the *young Aſpirer* at the *Hague*, had ſign'd a Convention

with

with the *States*, for compoſing an Army of 140,000 Men, and when we appear'd ſo eager to enter upon Action, That we took the Field ſix Weeks before the Enemy.

And ſurely, after they had thus beſpoke the Attention of the Public, if the B——rs had really poſſeſs'd any of thoſe ſuperior Abilities, which they have thought fit to derive to themſelves, from the Interpretations they have put on my *former Diſcourſe*, they would have manifeſted them now, by ſome Maſter-ſtroke, which might have exacted the Acknowledgments of all *Europe*.

But inſtead of making any ſuch Attempt, we have not the leaſt Warrant to conclude, That they had preconcerted any Plan of Operation: And *if* they *left* all to the Direction *of their Hero, purpoſely*, That he might ruin his own Character, as well as the War, which he hoped to derive ſo much additional Honour and Importance from, that very *Purpoſe* would manifeſt them to be the loweſt, as well as the wickedeſt of the human Species ——— A Monkey may do as much, or more Miſchief than a Man; But, we are not, therefore, to infer, That Monkeys make the beſt Miniſters.

In ſhort, the Whole of the Campaign was little better than a Series of Phrenzies, which render'd the Grace *of God*, (in reſcuing the *Dutch* out *of* the Harpy-Talons *of* a Faction, whoſe Mal-Adminiſtration ſerv'd almoſt to countenance that *of* the *Brotherhood* and raiſing up a *Stadtholder* to be their Saviour and Protector) *of* none Effect.

Even the wiſeſt Meaſure *of* the Year, (I mean the Negotiation with *Ruſſia*) was manag'd in the

fooliſheſt

foolisheſt Way. To have had all its Efficacy, it ſhould have been diſpatch'd the preceding Winter: And as it was *of* equal Weight in the Scale, either as to Peace or War, no tolerable Reaſon can be aſſign'd why it was not.

Then what can be alledg'd in *Excuſe, for rejecting* the Offers made by the *moſt Chriſtian King* to Sir *J*——— *L*———, after the *unfortunate* Action at *Laſſeldt*? If the fatal Experience *of that* bloody Day, and the Loſs *of Bergen op Zoom*, which *follow'd* it, convinc'd the *Brotherhood*, That our military Atchievements would never countervail the Expence *of* them; and brought on that Fit of Deſpair, which had prompted *One of* them at leaſt, to become a public Advocate *for* a Peace upon *any Terms*; why were thoſe Offers declar'd *from* the Throne inadmiſſable? Why did we run the Riſque *of* being oblig'd to accept *of worſe*? And why was our very Credit ſuffer'd to be blaſted, in order to ſupply the Demands *of* another Year, which we *foreſaw* could not be productive *of* the leaſt Service?

Or if the deſperate Raſhneſs of a loſing Gameſter, who was in a Humour to play on, tho' reduc'd to his laſt Stake, could not, as yet, be corrected by Reaſon, or mollify'd by Perſuaſion, why were not the Offers of *Spain*, (which, as we are told by the *Apologiſt* for a *late Reſignation*, had been under Conſideration for above a Year before,) accepted? Even the *Elder* B———r, himſelf, was at firſt of Opinion, That the ſeparating *France* and *Spain*, was of more Conſequence to us than ten Victories; and that an Accommodation with the Latter, could not fail of producing that deſirable Effect: Nor indeed, could any Expedient have been propos'd, which bid ſo fair to ſatisfy all Parties as This: Thoſe who *delighted* in War, might ſtill have had a War

with *France* for their *Amuſement*: Thoſe who were ſolicitous for a Peace, would have compounded for a Peace with *Spain*, on equal and honourable Terms: As to the Body of the People, on the ſingle Condition of having the Freedom of their Commerce re-eſtabliſh'd, (which alone occaſion'd the *Spaniſh* War) they would have chearfully proſecuted the Quarrel with *France* for half a Century together: And even as to our Allies, in whoſe Name, and for whoſe Sake, the Refuſal was made, Experience has ſince ſhewn, That their Intereſt was as much concern'd in the Acceptance as ours, For *Guaſtalla* was not mentioned in the Eſtabliſhment required for *Don Philip*: And, over and above the immediate Reſtitution of *Savoy*, the King of *Sardinia* would have been left in Poſſeſſion of *Final*, and probably *Savona*, both which he has ſince been oblig'd to relinquiſh: Beſides, on the Separation of the *Spaniſh* and *French* Armies, the Latter would ſoon have been oblig'd to quit *Italy*: The *Genoeſe* muſt have ſubmitted to the ſuperior Power of the Allies; and nothing farther being to be apprehended from the Forces of the King of the Two *Sicilies*, they might have entered *France* on that Side, without Dread or Danger of being recall'd; and created ſuch a Diverſion as would have operated as far as *Flanders*. Add to all this, That the Moment *Spain* was become a neutral Power, what by the Increaſe of Commerce on our Side, and the abſolute Ruin of the *French*, which muſt have been the Conſequence, the Balance in Point of Wealth would have been on our Side: And wherever the Wealth is, Credit and Power are ſure to follow: So that in Two Campaigns more, *France* would probably be obliged to ſtrike to us: And it might have been in the Power of the Allies to preſcribe to her: Whereas, by this cruel Omiſſion, we, in a

Manner,

Manner, forced the Two Crowns to continue a joint Purſuit: And it became obvious to every Man of common Senſe, that the farther we blundered on in the ſame left-handed Road, the farther we ſhould be out of our Way.

——

In ſtead, therefore, of loſing our Time in proving what is already proved; That there is not a ſingle Ray of Ability diſcernable in the palpable Darkneſs of this whole Proceeding, we ought to aſk, how it was poſſible for Men, who barely affected to be thought Men of Buſineſs, to ſuffer themſelves to be ſo groſly infatuated? And if the only Solution we can find, is in the *abſolute Aſcendancy* which the C——r *d'Oſſorio*, had found Means to obtain over the firſt Lord in the C——t, can we any longer ſuffer ſuch a *Jay*, to trick himſelf out in the *Plumage* of a *Burleigh*, a *Godolphin*, a *Marlborough*, a *Stanhope*, or any other Lord of the *Stanhope-Name*?

All theſe juſtly celebrated Stateſmen, knew and obſerv'd the Laws of Decorum to a Scruple: They receiv'd foreign Miniſters, with the Reſpect that was due to their Characters; but they plac'd their Confidence in none; as well knowing, that they were no better than honourable Spies; and that to be true to their Truſt, they muſt improve every Whiſper to the Intereſt of their Maſters, tho' to the Ruin of the Court or Country where they reſided.

And yet the Public has been aſſur'd, that at the Levees of *Lincoln's-Inn Fields*, the *Sardinian* Miniſter was not only the firſt Perſon addreſs'd to in public, but heard in private. To him the Cloſet-Doors were always open: His Audiences were as frequent, and as long as he pleas'd to

make them: And the Patience of all the other foreign Miniſters was worn out, in waiting till he was diſpatch'd: Nay, for a conſiderable Time, none were admitted, except *he* was preſent; and to ſuch a Length was this unaccountable Diſtinction carry'd, That even when the *A*——*n* Miniſter had Complaints to prefer againſt the *S*——*n* C——t, and the C——r *d'O*——*o*, was himſelf concern'd in the Cauſe, his G—ce was not at Leiſure to hear them, till the Accuſer and the Accus'd could be brought Face to Face: Whereas the Latter had Acceſs at all Hours, and with all the Familiarities of a Boſom-Favourite, could propagate any Tale, enforce any Point, or concert any Meaſure; as if both had but one Intereſt, and were oblig'd to co-operate in the ſame Service.

Thus, in meaſuring over the ſame Ground we meaſur'd before, (for the Negotiation at *Aix la Chapelle*, is the next Point that lies before us) we find as many Proofs of the Incapacity of the B——rs, as of their Iniquity: What then wou'd be the Caſe, if we were to unravel their Management in Money-Affairs, and all the Interior of their Adminiſtration?---But in a Deduction of ſo complex a Nature, I ſhould get the better of your Patience, as well as my own: And therefore, I ſhall proceed no farther, at preſent, than to obſerve, firſt, that even they themſelves have all along betray'd an uniform Conſciouſneſs of their own Inſufficiency; by throwing every Man of Genius out of their Connection. For though they have been forc'd to take ſome ſuch into their Employment, they could never be prevailed upon to take them into the Secret of Affairs; or ſuffer them to exert thoſe *Talents*, which they knew would eclipſe their own.

Thus

Thus, when caught in Toils which they had ſet for L—— G——, they were forced, for their own Preſervation Sake, to take in the *Broad-Bottoms*, what uſe did they make of the ſplendid Abilities of L—— G——, and the other diſtinguiſhed Leaders of that Party? Why, thoſe who were the moſt practiced in Buſineſs, who ſtood higheſt in the public Eſteem, and who were the beſt qualified for the public Service, they conſidered only as ſo many Perſons to be *removed out of the Way*: And thoſe whom they did think fit to aſſociate in Power with themſelves, were thoſe whoſe experience, Incapacity, or known Proſtitution, rendered them the moſt proper to be made Tools of: Whence it gradually followed, That the Former growing equally aſhamed of their own Inſignificancy, and the pernicious Meaſures they were expected to countenance, quitted the Service.

And, Secondly, that, inſtead of making good their own Boaſts, to ſubmit their Conduct to any legal enquiry, and to furniſh all the Matter that ſhould be called for, as neceſſary thereto, the *Brotherhood*, and their Co-adjutors, in Contempt of all Arguments within Doors, and all Cenſures without, have over-ruled every Motion of that kind which has been made, have ſuffered no one Paper to be produced, which had the leaſt tendency to explain the Meaſures which have been ſo loudly complained of; and, thereby, have, in effect, acknowledg'd, that more has not been laid to their charge, than thoſe Papers would have verified.

Laſtly; That you may lye under no Temptation, to conclude, notwithſtanding all I have advanced

vanced, than because they *ruined themselves*? Which was the great *End* they aim'd at, they are *able*, tho' wicked, M———rs, consider with yourself, that to undo is of all Tasks the easiest: And that he is the worst of Miners, who blows himself up with his own Train.

It is no new Thing for an ignorant Pilot to split his Vessel on a Rock, where he expected to find a Harbour.

The spirit which they have conjur'd up to answer their purposes abroad, they are now grievously sensible, must have employment at Home: And instead of any longer obeying their Commands, is in a fair way to obtain the Mastery over them. Amongst those whom they took into Power, as well as Place, he hath found *Undertakers* as enterprizing and desperate as himself; who have already attempted to wrest the *Lead* out of their Hands; and have so far succeeded in it, as to force them into a *Measure*, which they *profess* to disapprove. So that the very Persons, who, for the Sake of Power, had the Insolence to prescribe to the ——— upon his T———, have also, had the Meanness, for the same Consideration, to hold up the Train of a Faction, whose Aim, they knew was to supplant them.

Thus, after all their Triumphs, we find these doughty Statesmen almost in the Condition of *Acteon*, when worried by his own Dogs: And at the long Run, if they should happen to recover their superiority, on what wretched Terms, and how precariously must they hold it? If the *Measure* just alluded to, is carried in it's *full Extent*, the Merit will be ascrib'd to those who projected it: If not they the B———rs, will be made

answerable

anſwerable for the Defeat. On the H— A— they have heap'd Indignities upon Indignities, which how patiently ſoever he hath borne, it can ſcarce be expected he ſhould forgive: Already, they ſhrink under the Efforts of a *Minority*, compos'd of Gentlemen unpractiſed in Buſineſs, and who became Volunteers in the Cauſe of *Liberty*, when it ſeem'd to be abandoned by *All* beſides: And when it ſhall be notorious, that they have *ruined the Nation*, as well as the *War*, how ſhall they avoid being *ruined Themſelves?*

It is affirm'd of *Catherine* de *Medicis* Queen Regent of *France*, that ſhe cauſed a Portraiture to be drawn of herſelf, in the Action of making an Offering to the *Devil* of her Three Sons, which was explained by a ſcrole containing theſe Words, * *Soit pourveu que Je regne*: And if we cannot reflect on ſuch a Royal Fury as this, without Horror, what muſt our Reflections be, when we think of the ſacrifice of three Kingdoms, that the ambition of the *Brotherhood* might have its full ſwing?

But to conclude.——If it ſhould ſo happen, That by the Force of *Connection*, (that new Principle of Power, which has of late proved ſo fatal to the Conſtitution) they ſhould ſtill be able to maintain their Ground againſt the united Reſentments of P—— and People, we nevertheleſs, ought not to aſcribe to their ſtrength, that ſucceſs, which is merely the Reſult of our own weakneſs.

As *Shakeſpear* makes his *Caſſius* ſay of *Caſar*.
——*He would not be a Wolf, But that he ſees the* Romans *are but Sheep*. So it may be ſaid of

* *In* Engliſh, *provided I reign.*

us,

us, *If the* English *had not been Geese*, the ——s, *would not have been Foxes*. And indeed, that *God* for our sins, hath given us into the Hands of such *despicable Executioners*, is one of the most mortifying parts of our *Punishment*,

I am,

SIR,

Your most Humble Servant,